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## CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOPI HISTORY

### INTRODUCTION

THE first three narratives combined into this paper have general interest as giving successive views of one of the most conservative Hopi Pueblos as seen through the eyes of as many trained ethnologists, but a very particular interest as a study of the reactions of a highly specialized community to the rapid advances of a culture entirely alien to it. In the first of these accounts we observe the violent mental and social disturbances elicited by the foreign culture in an as yet united people. In the second we learn of the organization of progressive and conservative factions following upon such disturbances, to an ultimatum in the total separation of the original body, and we observe that the emotion excited is no longer between an old established and an immigrant people but between an old established and an immigrant culture. The third paper lays bare the internal structure of the social organism and explains how the lines of cleavage dividing progressives and conservatives ran through it. The concluding paper of the series furnishes illustrative material from a neighboring and related Pueblo.

LORAIBI IN 1883<sup>1</sup>

By Frank Hamilton Cushing

At Oraibi, the once universal and beautiful Pueblo art of basketry, as exhibited in sacred trays, still exists in full force.

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<sup>1</sup>This report by Mr. Cushing on his trip to Oraibi in the winter of 1882-83 is part of an account of his observations among the Hopi of the pueblo mentioned, the other portion of which will appear in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. This manuscript, together with numerous others, most of them more or less fragmentary or incomplete, came into possession of Mr. Stewart Culin, of the Brooklyn Institute Museum, on the death of Mr. Cushing, by the gift of his wife, and in turn they were

Yet it is almost totally forgotten save by mention in folklore and tradition at Zuñi and it is fast sinking into abeyance even with the Eastern Moqui [Hopi]. At Oraibi the process of using the basket bowl and tray, as the form in which water vessels, bowls, and many other fabrics of clay, are modeled, still holds; a process also once well-nigh universal among the ancient Pueblos.

Again the beautiful art of inlaying with turquoises, shell and colored stones in wood, shell, and horn still survives. Today may be seen in abundance the inlaid wooden pendants, ear ornaments, and, more rarely, collars, so frequently mentioned by the early Spanish chroniclers. At the Rio Grande Pueblos and at Zuñi it is true these things exist—notably inlaid shell pendants—but they are rare, and for the main part very ancient heirlooms—although the unpractised art is not wholly forgotten.

As to dress and headdress, the banged hair of the men straight down over the forehead, unconfined by *banda* unless of vegetable fibre or a strip of fur, and done up at the back in a close knot with terraced side locks; the breech-clout of very soft buckskin or fur; the high buskins of undyed skin confined above the ankles with strings; the robes of rabbit-skin, handsomely prepared cat-skins, and the furs of larger game; these are marked traces of the traditional Pueblo costume. Another dress, used only by the chief priests in ceremonials, is the “wide sleeved”<sup>2</sup> cotton coat elaborately embroidered, mentioned as part of the ancient Pueblo costume of rank, even as early as Coronado’s time.

The town too is built in every essential respect as were the ancient ruins throughout the Southwest; the house walls are reared of sandstone-slabs, either chipped and pecked or roughly broken to a rude facing on the outer edges and laid in mud. Occasionally the upper walls are augmented by hand-made adobes, hard lumps of mud of an irregular, oval outline, dried in the sun,

placed in my custody for such use as might seem advisable. The entire body of manuscripts has not yet been correlated, but as the Oraibi report finds at once appropriate places of publication, it has been placed in the hands of Dr. Parsons to edit for that purpose.—F. W. Hodge.

<sup>2</sup> There is a dance at Zuñi today called *basikyapa*, wide-sleeved, which is referred to as a Hopi dance.—E. C. P.

and laid in thin mud, the interstices being thickly plastered on both faces of the wall with the same material. All of the dwelling rooms are small. Thus is secured for the pueblo compactness; for the inmates, comfort during cold weather, with little expenditure of fuel. The rooms occupied during winter are partially under ground, always at least in the lower stories, except those of the poorer class. They are entered through the roofs by means of short-poled ladders. The roof of this first story forms the floor of the next, or the terrace whereby it is reached. The summer dwellings, either in the second, third, or fourth story, are entered through doors,—if small rectangular passages open or closed as necessity may demand only with portières of robes or blankets may be so called.

One of the characteristic features of the interiors is the fireplace. This is diminutive in the extreme, and fed usually with fuel composed of sage brush, grease-wood, corn-stalks, and cobs; more rarely with piñon and cedar or dried dung from corrals. These fireplaces are simply little rims of mud or sandstone slabs set on edge into the floor, and of a shape convenient for receiving the cooking pot. The flue or mantel is composed of sticks, thickly plastered, set out from the corner of the room far enough to receive the smoke, and converging upward either to a small hole in the roof, or to the portion of the lowest of a stand of bottomless pots placed one over the other, and continued considerably above the roof to form the chimney. More interesting and rare are examples of the fireplace, made essentially like the one above described, but furnished with no flue, save an oblique hole through the wall, to the rear and a little above the hearth, a feature which I have observed in the architecture of well-preserved ruins of the ancient pueblos.

Among the furnishings of the Oraibi home room are always conspicuous the grinding slabs, usually three or four side by side in one end of the low room; the blanket pole, suspended along one side; the sitting stones, huge flat sandstone blocks. These latter are carefully fashioned and provided at either end with a horizontal concavity to facilitate handling. The stone architecture, small size of rooms and fireplaces, the sitting stones or "stool

rocks," and hand-made adobes, distinguish the Oraibis externally from all other Pueblo Indians as having longest preserved the characteristics of their ancestors. Nor do we find this feature absent from their institutions. The distribution of the dwellings according to the gentile [clan] subdivisions of the tribe—allotment into wards, so to speak—as also the semi-sacred character of the houses devoted to the secular usage of the principal priesthoods are further distinctive.

Again, the primitive character of the regulative structures is shown in the kiva or estufa. These are not as sacredly devoted to the *kaka* [*koko*, *Zuñi*] or kachina as in some of the other pueblos [*Zuñi*], since they are also used as gathering places for the men during winter. Here may be seen always in winter the fire which warms (not always welcomes) all travellers before they are invited to enter more private apartments or to leave the town; which renders comfortable the old men and the young who spend the winter days in spinning, weaving, and weapon- and gewgaw-making; which lights the crowds of idle gossippers or myth tellers who gather there each night, or the wrangling, double-sided councils of law, and the more single-purposed priesthoods preparing for ceremonials; yet again the sacred medicine bands whose incantations, rituals, and juggleries are rendered effective by the profound mystery or secrecy of their operations, inexorable save through initiation. By the fireside, too, gather the unmarried men often, and even the married men during certain fasts and other observances of abstinence, to sleep. We have only to refer to Castañeda, Coronado, Oñate, and other early Spanish authors to learn that these uses of the estufa were general prior to the Conquest.

These estufas are built under the ground, the roofs being level with or slightly raised above the surface. They may or may not be walled up at the sides, a matter depending on the solidity of the material—either earth or bed-rock into which they are excavated. They are entered through a mat-closed sky- and smoke-hole between the first and middle thirds from the eastern end, by means of an enormous ladder resting on a raised plain below. This plain or platform is cut off abruptly under the ladder entirely

across the enormous room, and lowered a foot or some inches more, which level it keeps throughout the western two-thirds forming the main floor. The walls are thickly plastered, usually upon a lathing of beautifully wattled canes held fast by means of pegs inserted into the interstices of the sides of the room. A bench extends entirely around the room next to the wall, on a level with the raised portion in the eastern extremity. About the floor are plentifully strewn the huge stone seats before alluded to, sometimes deeply scarred on the bottoms by use for grinding arrow points, shell and stone ornaments, and bone implements. Around the edges of the room in all convenient places are strong wooden loops or staples securely fastened into the floors, and corresponding thongs, depending from the rafters above; both designed for use in strapping in an upright position the looms, four or five of which may nearly always be seen during the winter plied by naked, dirty men.

These estufas, instead of being built as with the other pueblos by communities corresponding to the phratries of some tribes,<sup>3</sup> are constructed usually by a single individual, that is, at his expense and instigation. They are then thrown open to his friends and relatives. By this means—through wealth—he becomes the father of the clans which accept his hospitality—or the principal man and often the priest—thus establishing a rude form of phratry,<sup>4</sup> and making the sub-chieftancy appear to be rather the result of wealth and popularity than of election.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the moiety kiva system of the Eastern towns is here referred to. (See Parsons E. C. "Further Notes on Isleta" in *American Anthropologist*, (N. S.), 23:156.) At Zuni the kivas are built or rebuilt by the *koko* (kachina) organizations that use them.—E. C. P.

<sup>4</sup> This account, I can but think, is somewhat misleading. The servant-managers (*wo'we*) of the Zuni kivas are chosen, to be sure, by the membership. And so is the kiva chief at Jemez and probably in the other towns under the moiety kiva system. But individual initiative and wealth are less conspicuous in kiva building and keeping, among the Hopi, than Cushing suggests, and the principle of clanship or maternal family much more to the fore. It is a kinship group, rather than an individual, which is associated with kiva proprietorship.—E. C. P.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably the so-called linked clan system of the Hopi is here referred to. But whether or not the linked clans or, preferably, the associated maternal families are held together through using the same kiva (at the winter solstice ceremony this would be when every man is supposed to resort to the kiva associated with his clan), or whether there are other bonds, is still an obscure matter.—E. C. P.

The owner of the estufa virtually carries the key to his doorless reception room. Whenever he wishes to exclude the public, he simply hauls the ladder out and takes it to his own house, placing it under strict guard. By virtue of this proceeding he is able to augment his authority, denying at will the hospitality which he has taught his clans and dependents to rely upon. These, aside from certain heralds and functionaries corresponding to the priests of the bow in Zuñi,<sup>6</sup> seem to be the only regular chiefs exclusive of the priest chiefs of the pueblo. Of the latter are two principal peace priests and two war priests<sup>7</sup> whose functions, varying with the character of the times, are ecclesiastical and medical, as well as secular and martial. Opposed to these officials of the regulative system of the Oraibis, are certain men who, by virtue of their claimed heredity and craft, are supposed to have possession of superhuman powers or magic, the sorcerer priests of the tribe. They are, unlike their reputed representatives among the other pueblos, respected, because mortally feared. By means of a reckless affrontery unparalleled by anything I have else known of other Indians, they in council boldly attack the regular chiefs, assert and usually carry their own measures in opposition to those, by terrorizing the body of these legislative gatherings. They go so far as to threaten the life of the highest priest-chief of the tribe, if this incumbent of a once revered office be so bold as uncompromisingly to oppose their aims. I incline, from the evidence furnished by folklore and analogy, to regard these bodies—amounting at Oraibi to a brotherhood or even a society—as entitled to a regular though not to a strictly regulative place in the social structure of the Pueblos. They are appealed to, in times of war or pestilence, to remedy the misfortunes they are supposed to have originated, if not, indeed, to have in each instance caused or acquiesced in. So great is their power that their

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<sup>6</sup> Members of the Agave and Horn societies.—E. C. P.

<sup>7</sup> According to more recent records there is but one "peace-priest" or rather Town chief, literally chief of the houses. He is, or should be, assisted by several other chiefs (see p. 290) as well as by the maternal family to which he belongs, the chieftaincy being hereditary or quasi-hereditary. There is also but one War chief. Both Town chief and War chief have, no doubt, each an apprentice-assistant.—E. C. P.

leader assumes all the title and demands even the "tithes" of the highest priest-chief of the tribe, gaining his adherents by the promise of the restraint of evil toward them, or the invocation of good fortune for his followers, and tracing his descent from the mythic grandmothers of the human race,—the Spider and the Bat. By the relentless exercise of this assumption he and his followers control even those who are opposed to them, who writhe in complete moral bondage to the reputed sorcerers.

Perhaps, as an example of this, I go not amiss in recording my own experiences during our efforts to gain the consent of the tribe to our enterprise [of making collections for the National Museum and getting scientific information].

Late during the afternoon of the 19th of December [1883] we had reached the mesa of Oraibi. I went ahead of the main body with our second interpreter, Pulákakai (who spoke Zuñi with fluency), to the pueblo. Arrived, we were invited into an estufa; soon after, to the house of the highest priest-chief of the tribe. Here we were at once heartily welcomed and given two rooms, one for storage, the other for occupancy. During the night, the old priest-chief (Lolulumai,<sup>8</sup> Beautiful) summoned one or two of his subordinates and some of his relatives. Without the slightest difficulty I gained his and their cordial consent to our trading operations, even their thanks that we had brought such abundant means of dress, food, etc., to the town. I was advised by him, however, to call, on the following night, a more general council in one of the large central estufas. As our prospects for success were thus rendered apparently certain, Mr. Mindeleff immediately started for Keam's cañon with all of the party save Watts, our cook, and an artist companion, W. L. Metcalf of Boston. His intention was to get boxes, lumber, extra goods, etc., to facilitate extended work at Oraibi.

During the day following, I found considerable opposition to my efforts to secure as a trading center one or another of the estufas. The ladders were either missing or withdrawn shortly

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<sup>8</sup> See Voth, H. R. The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony, pl. iv, 1, in Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthropol. Ser., vol. vi, no. 1, 1903.—E. C. P.



after my approach, from all save such of these large chambers as were constantly occupied. I determined therefore to let the matter rest until it should be regulated by council. Meanwhile opposition grew more pronounced and impertinent, until my interpreter advised me to desist. Towards sunset a delegation of Walpi chiefs, together with my first interpreter, Nanahe (an adopted Zuñi of Walpi nativity), arrived to assist me. Late in the night I succeeded in getting a few persons into the estufa. I began to harangue them, but had not proceeded far before a second body of people much larger than the first was summoned together by a herald. They collected about the entrance-way outside. They intercepted the highest priest-chief and his associates, compelling them to return to their houses; then entered and took possession of the estufa. I was sitting in the middle of the room in front of the fire. When as many as could find room on the platform beyond the ladder had entered, one small elderly man threw his robe from his naked shoulders and demanded that I desist, saying, "Stranger Tehano (American) you may as well attempt to scratch flint with your finger-nails as to pierce our ears with your lying words." I quietly asked him who he was. He replied that he was the "chief priest of the tribe and a wizard."<sup>9</sup> "Then," said I, "you may be quiet, until I speak my speech, for I am a child of Washington. I come here with my brothers, bringing the words of our father—words which must be spoken, whether heard or not heard." He began once more to speak, but I told him again more emphatically to be quiet; that he must hear the words of a stranger, before he pass judgment on him; that the stranger would then listen to him. So he said, "It is well." I then said:

"Fathers, brothers and friends! We have a father called 'Washington.' As you say the Sun is the father of all men, so

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<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately Mr. Cushing does not give the Hopi term used here. *Powaka* is Hopi for wizard or witch, and, as far as I have observed, the Hopi quite as much as people of other towns would be extremely averse to calling themselves, or to having others call them, witches. The reference in this connection was, I presume, to the magic power of the priests or chiefs or members of the societies. It is true that certain societies are reputed to have peculiar power in black magic as the *ne'wekwe* of Zuñi, and I once did hear the town chief group of Zuñi (*akyakweamosi*, chiefs of the houses) referred to as a witch group. See p. —.—E. C. P.

say I Washington is the father alike of all Indians and Americans. Washington lives that he may do good to and protect his children. He knows his white children well, for he speaks one speech with them, and lives in one house with them. Behold the consequence! Are they not the most wealthy and happy of men; the most powerful and wonderful of beings save the gods? What enemy disturbs them? What man amongst them but has warm clothing to wear, good-tasting things to eat? Now this father has heard of the Oraibi, but he knows not their ways of life. Like a great priest of the Sun, he must stay in his pueblo Washington to guard the rights and look after the wants of his people. Therefore he cannot go forth to grasp his many children by the hand; but he sends his chiefs forth to greet them, to measure their houses that he may know what kind of homes they live in; to paint their pictures that he and his white children may see what kind of men live in those houses; to gather the works of their hands, the things beautiful and useful they may have, that he may see whether they be poor or wealthy, whether they have the wisdom of thought, or the poverty of foolishness. For, should he find a town of his children poor, he might be moved to help them with the means of maintenance, or if foolish, he might send his chiefs to give them instruction.

“Among the many great houses in the Pueblo of Washington is one of red and blue stone, with great roofs and terraces, and a dome so high that the strongest hand cannot throw a stone over it. This dome is filled with plates like quartz crystals that the light may shine in, and even the sun-rays themselves may enter. This house has four great doors through which horses side by side might be ridden, for it is as large as is the whole Pueblo of the Oraibis. It has many rooms, for there, stored in boxes one can see through, are the fabrications of the many different children of Washington, that his chiefs may look at them and learn what are the kinds of men who are the children of Washington, and whether they be, or may be, brothers one to another. There is one great room in this estufa of the children of Washington—empty. It is the room of the Oraibi. Washington has sent me to you with my brothers that we may get things wherewith to fill this room.

That we may put them in the boxes one can look into when closed, to keep them for many years.

"A man cares little for a stranger, nor recks what his fortune may be. Is it reasonable for Washington to love or help his children, save of his knowledge of them? Therefore, fathers and brothers, I have asked one of your chiefs at Walpi what it was that was most needed by his children. According as he instructed I have brought abundance of all things. These things I will give you in return for your old vessels and implements, your worn-out apparel, your things of stone, and the ancient things your fathers used."

Before I had finished the last sentence I was angrily interrupted by three or four voices from the opposite side of the ladder, refusing my offer and insulting me in language not to be reproduced. Still I continued, "Have you children and wives? Do you love them, or do you speak as windstorms do, thinking of nothing? For your children are naked in winter, and your women are hungry with nourishing them. Food I have, and fabrics soft to the touch and bright to the eye."

Again I was refused more vehemently than before, and ordered to get out of the estufa. I told them I must know why they received my message thus. They replied that the Americans were liars with whom they wished to have nothing to do. I asked them if they ever had aught to do with the Americans. They replied, "No."

"How then do you know they are liars?"

"Because the Mormons told us so, and our eastern brothers, the Moqui."

"Did neither the Mormons nor the Moqui ever lie to you?" said I.

"Good! good!" shouted Tathlti (a friend to my cause). "Make fools of yourselves, my brothers, as deaf as you are to his arguments, so deaf is he to your obstinacy and insults; he grows not angry, but sits on his rock smoking with aged bearing (dignity) as becomes the child of a great chief. Go on, go on! Some day you will insult a chief of Washington who is not so gentle of breath, and lose your lives, your wives and your children; but

that matters nothing! The Mormons are good men. They did not lie when they came to help us and took our cotton fields away. The Moqui are good men. They do not lie when they tell us the price of things, then sell them to us for twice their cost. Go on!"

This infuriated our opponents. They said to me, "You are a heap of dung in our plazas; you stink of your race. Leave or we will throw you off the mesas, as we throw dung out of the plazas."

"Oh no; I must know why you hate the Americans, who are your friends."

"We do not hate you; we hate Washington and his American children."

"But you must tell me why you hate Washington, for he it was who, through his chiefs, sent me here."

"Because of the words of our ancients."

"Yes, yes! but how do you know what your ancients said about the Americans?"

"We know their speeches of many years ago, even of the times when the world was new."

"When you prove to me this [I was anxious to get as much as possible of their mythology, which even Lolulumai had refused me], and that you know of the times of creation better than I then I will leave you."

"You will leave with all your brothers before morning, or we will wipe you out as with a moccasin sole we wipe out bedbugs."

"Oh no, but I will not. I must know what to tell my fathers in Washington when they ask me why I come back so soon. Not in one day or yet in several will I leave, surely not unless you prove what I have asked you."

They deliberated a moment and then directed me to get "paper and a writing stick quickly." They wished me to write down all they said and send it back to Washington; then to leave at once, for my presence "oppressed them as things which caused the stomach to vomit."

I hastily ran home, and, getting paper, rolled a pistol in my blanket and returned. As soon as I had sat down by the fire, they

gave me in substance their myth of creation,<sup>10</sup> which for the sake of clearness I have given rather as a myth than as an infuriated argument, interspersed with the most insulting messages to Washington, and demands that he send his soldiers without delay to destroy or attempt to destroy the Oraibi tribe, in the face of their magic and the prophecies of the myth. Toward the completion they demurred from telling me more. I told them it was by their own wish that I wrote, and that as I knew the ancient talk already better than they did, it was quite needless. Whereupon they grew angry, but went on, greatly abbreviating, however.

At the close they declared that "Washington must come before this moon is gone, with all his soldiers, to kill the Oraibi and sit on their heads. We would like to see him do it."

"But Washington is a father; he is not an elder brother. Would you strike the heads off the necks of your own children?" I replied.

"Tell Washington as we advise you! Tell him he and all his chiefs and soldiers are filth, or the material for filth and carrion when they come about our pueblo; that we have power he little thinks of. We know the Americans can build iron horses which draw heavy loads as fast as the wind runs. They can cut holes through mountains and talk with strings. Therefore it will not be work for Washington to send soldiers here to kill us. Come now! When they arrive may be we will lie down and let them kill us; why need they be afraid? But if you do not go away with your brothers before daylight, we will rub you out. Do you hear that?"

"I will not go away before daylight, neither do you dare to wipe me out. The Father Washington will not destroy you nor send soldiers to you. Wished he to do this, he could with a small bottle of medicine blow up your whole town, and the mesa of

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<sup>10</sup> This myth is to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, together with a version of the origin myth of Zuni and a Papago origin myth. I have taken the liberty of editing it separately, since I doubt if any but incidental reference was made to the myth or, as Mr. Cushing says, highly abbreviated mention, in the stormy meeting he describes. In fact, in a concise monthly report to the Bureau, Mr. Cushing states that he recorded the myth in the days subsequent to the meeting.—E. C. P.

solid rock beneath it. You are fools who think not of your wives and children when you speak thus."

At this point my interpreters all left their seats. The Walpi chiefs led by Nanahe besought me to leave immediately. I told them to shame themselves and sit down. The cowards deserted me. Pulákakai alone remained. Presently he, too, said he must go. I told him, "Go, then; I will talk to Tathlti in Spanish." Pulákakai went. Tathlti then turned to me and said in Spanish: "These beasts are fools. They may kill you; they may not kill you, who knows? They are wizards. You sit here and let them call you dung, and do not leave them. That is proof, they say, that you are not from Washington; for 'a son of Washington would grow angry and leave,' say they."

"Yes, but it is because I am speaking not for myself but for Washington, that I do not get angry and leave."

At this juncture, Pulákakai came in again. He grinned and told me he had a pistol under his blanket, for which I thanked him. He then sat down behind me.

"Now," said I to him, "tell these men what I say to you, every word. When you have done, let fall your blanket and show your pistol. I will do the same, and we will go out. Tell them that they are fools and burros, babies who know how to talk, but not how to think what they say; that I know better far than they do what their ancients said; that my father, the chief with one arm who was here years ago,<sup>11</sup> could tell me far more than they; that contrary to what they say their ancients had never said that the older brother and the younger commanded each other to act like beasts of prey, first fondling, then tearing one another to pieces. What is their proof? *We* have ancient books with marks of our fathers in them which we read."

With some hesitation Pulákakai interpreted what I had said. Several of the leaders jumped up and wrapped their blankets more closely about their loins, freeing their hands. Tathlti laughed and in a loud voice jeered them and turning to me, said, "Wéno wéno (bueno)!"

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<sup>11</sup> Major J. W. Powell is referred to. He was taken into the *palki* clan (Fourth Annual Report, Bur. Am. Ethnology, p. 517).—E. C. P.

Presently the excited "wizards" quieted. They then turned to me more calmly and said, "We, too, have records in marks on magic stones. One is the Rock of Death given to us by the corpse demon after we came from the cave worlds. The other is the stone which our ancients made that we might not forget their words."

"I can read all writing," said I, "bring them out quickly."

"We won't."

"Why not?"

"Because the time has not come. It would be a pity to kill only one man and a few of his friends. We want to wait until Washington comes with his soldiers, *then* we will bring them out!"

I made some mystic passes over my person, then again demanded the stones saying that Americans feared no witches. My 'medicine' was proof against them. "Bring out the stones," I added.

"No, you shall not see them until you can bring soldiers to kill us."

"Come now. I am sleepy; to lie down and dream tastes good. I thought I would ask you if you wished me to trade. Now I see you don't. I will trade anyway. I am going back to Lolulumai's house to sleep. Tomorrow morning I shall bring my goods out and trade. Next day I shall trade, next day and next day. Some one of *you* will wear my clothes and eat my food, before I go. I know you very well. In council you talk bravely; in war you run. Did not a great chief come here fifteen years ago to get powder away from you? You told his little chief who came up here alone that you would kill him and all his soldiers. When the little chief went down to tell his master, the great chief was angry, and himself came up with all his soldiers. Some of you ran away. Tathlti and the good chiefs stayed and gave the great chief all the powder. So when you came back you were angry with Tathlti, and talked so much that he despised you. Now he lives in a far-away town. . . . May you all pass a good night. I must go home to sleep." Then I took up my papers, waiting for Pulákakai to interpret my speech. Whether he did this correctly or not, the opponents about the ladder grew

furious as he talked. I exhibited my pistol, and went toward the ladder. Aside from a great deal of loud talking they did nothing, letting me pass out. As we left them, I heard old Tathlti laughing and talking louder than all the others.

When I told Lolulumai of my intention to remain he at first advised me to go, offering us his burros; but when he saw I was determined, he said he would watch with me, and, gathering some of his relatives and friends about the house, he asked me to fix my guns and wait. He talked to me, cried, and begged that I ask Washington for soldiers<sup>12</sup> to help get rid of the witches.<sup>13</sup> He told me they were the ones who opposed the acceptance of annuities, and caused all the trouble in Oraibi, keeping his people poor and dependent on the Moqui. He gave the names of the leaders of the opposition as follows: Kuii'nainiwa. [War chief in 1893 and later],<sup>14</sup> Pitchifuia (would-be successor to Lolulumai), Muiinwa, Kuh'nina (Coconino), Patuisniwa (Caller [i.e. Crier chief]), Hévima,<sup>15</sup> Muishonaitiwa.<sup>16</sup>

He also gave the names of the friends (in council) of Americans, as follows: Lolulumai, Tathlti, Tuiba, Káatchinumana.

To shorten this account, I may add in brief that the Walpi chiefs had deserted us, together with Nanahe, fearing not so much

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<sup>12</sup> Voth, writing in 1903, states that "Lóloloma was at one time, years ago, imprisoned by the hostile faction in one of the kivas and he believes to this day that he would have been left in that kiva to starve if the representatives of the government had not rescued him." ("The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony," pl. iv. Field Columbian Museum Pub. 84. Anthropol. Ser., vi, no. 1, 1903).—E. C. P.

<sup>13</sup> Here it is quite obvious, in connection with the list that follows, that the Town chief is referring merely to his enemies, among whom are the War chief, the Crier chief, and the chief of the Snake Society, in no sense an organized group of wizards. In Mr. Cushing's earlier paragraphs on witch organization he was undoubtedly led astray by the desperate accounts by Lolulumai of the feud he was engaged in.

Was Bandler possibly influenced in writing in 1885 *The Delight Makers* by some account of the Oraibi feud that Cushing may have given to him?—E. C. P.

<sup>14</sup> Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 12. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 55, Anthropol. Ser., iii, no. 1, 1901.—E. C. P.

<sup>15</sup> Hóveima, Young-Corn clansman, member of Snake Society in 1896 (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," p. 282, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 83, Anthropol. Ser. iii, no. 4).—E. C. P.

<sup>16</sup> Mashangöntiwa, Snake clansman, was in 1896 Chief of the Snake Society (Ib., pl. CL. B).—E. C. P.



violence, I presume, as magic, yet giving a serious cast to the whole affair. Therefore I wrote hastily to Victor Mindeff, in charge of the expedition, asking him to return as soon as practicable, as trading to any extent would be impossible, and that doubtless we were in considerable danger, although I did not expect serious consequences. This message I sent by the hand of a Tewa Indian, by whom it was delivered to a Walpi who took it to Keam's Cañon.<sup>17</sup>

Before sunrise next morning, our opponents were passing back and forth, one or two by the place I occupied. They made no further demonstration, yet one of them was always stationed opposite to watch our operations from a distance.

I put samples of all my trading material on exhibition in the plaza to invite trade. Some women and children came around. One requested me through Pulákakai to take the goods inside, saying that she would then trade with me. Following her advice, I had brisk trade on that and the succeeding two days, getting more than two hundred specimens together. On the third day, however, almost our only customers were Tathlti and Tuiba who explained that the wizards had threatened to poison one of the bags of American flour and to medicate some of the clothing with magic, so that whoso ate or wore it would perish or have horrible torture. Once or twice Pulákakai grabbed his pistol and appeared frightened on hearing orders called from the house tops. On the fifth morning the wagons arrived, and we bade farewell to foolish, bull-dozed Oraibi.

## II. ORAIBI IN 1890

By J. Walter Fewkes

A few months ago a visitor lately returned from Arizona described briefly the present condition of Oraibi, the largest pueblo of the Hopi. A village was situated on the same site in 1583 and has been continuously inhabited to a few years ago, but is

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<sup>17</sup> I regret that I cannot give this letter in full, as it was reported afterward that I wrote in great fright, begging Mr. Mindeff to come immediately, or we should all be murdered, our goods stolen, etc.,—all trash. Doubtless Mr. Mindeff still preserves the letter; if so, it will speak for itself.—Note by Cushing.

now practically abandoned and will soon be numbered as one more deserted ruin.

The writer first visited this pueblo over thirty years ago (1890) and claims to have seen it before the development of the unhappy schism that finally led to the downfall of the village. He believes he is one of the first living ethnologists to study the Hopi people, although his researches were confined to villages on the East Mesa. Prior to his visit several ethnologists had visited Oraibi, among whom may be mentioned Capt. Bourke and other army officers, Mr. Cushing, Major Powell, the Mindeleffs, and several others.

One of the first Americans to live with the Hopi for purposes of study was Dr. Jeremiah Sullivan, or, as he was called by them, Urwica. When the writer began work at Walpi, Urwica was remembered as the American who amputated the arm of the mother of Pautiwa, the chief of the Bow priesthood. He slept in the pueblo, ate Hopi food, and worked on the farms with the Hopi, but he left Walpi a few years before the writer began his Hopi studies. He published a few short notes on the Hopi but no elaborate work on this interesting people. Mr. A. M. Stephen, an educated Scotchman, who gave the closing years of his life to the study of the Hopi, and died in 1894 in Keam's Canyon, amassed a great fund of information about both Hopi and Navaho, and did more than any other pioneer student in opening up this most interesting field of American ethnology. His contributions to our knowledge of the Hopi Snake dance are known to all students, and all early visitors and students have been indebted to him for ethnological information. The writer takes this opportunity to again record his obligation to Mr. Stephen for his aid in Hopi studies from 1890 to 1894, the year he died. No student of the early Hopi should neglect to mention the name of Mr. T. V. Keam, the Indian trader for many years at Keam's Canyon. His hospitable ranch and genial personality added much aid and comfort to early visitors to the Hopi.

Of the manners and customs, the sociology, and the religious life, comparatively little was known in 1890. Capt. Bourke's book, the first important work in English on the Hopi, had made

known the existence of a Snake dance among these Indians at Walpi; but of other great ceremonials nothing was recorded even by Bourke. The ethnologic field was practically a virgin one. At that time the Hopi were universally called the Moqui or Moki, a term meaning "dead," reaching back to the seventeenth century. A few of the Hopi spoke Navaho, one or two spoke Spanish, and very few were familiar with English. There were no interpreters. The rule excluding visitors from the kivas, without initiations, during ceremonials, was strictly enforced. A few bags of tobacco, supplemented on the last day by a little flour or sugar, were regarded as a sufficient gift to enable one to see the altars of the Snake dances. None of the chiefs thought of charging anything for entering the kivas or going up on the mesa to see a dance, and nothing was paid to visit the reservation. The agent lived at Fort Defiance and seldom visited the Hopi. The railroad was seventy-five miles south. There were one or two Indian traders in that region, but to the northeast and west stretched an indefinite desert.

No one can ever again see the Hopi pueblos as they appeared to the writer on his first visit to them in 1890. In thirty-two years a new generation of Hopi Indians has grown up and with it brought about many modifications. At that time there were only two houses in the plain below Hano. The main spring, from which the Indians obtained their water, was dedicated to the sun, and on that account was called Dawapa, which has since been changed to Polakka, the name of a Tewa man of the pueblo Hano. Around it has been constructed a schoolhouse and supplementary buildings; near it the Hopi buried the Santos of the Mission destroyed in 1680, but where, *quien sabe?* The physical features of the mesa and the surroundings show few changes. But in the pueblos one might easily fancy himself back in the time of the discoverers. There were in 1890 no iron stoves, tables, chairs, lamps, or any of the so-called comforts of civilization. Many rooms were entered through the roofs. Only a few persons on the Mesa could speak English, and they spoke it only fairly well. Purchases from the store were limited to the simplest staple necessities, as calico, flour, sugar, tobacco, and coffee. There was no wagon road from

the plain to the villages on top of the mesa, narrow, steep trails being the only means of access. One of these trails formerly had a ladder which could be pulled up every night and was called the Ladder Trail. The first white man's store at the East Mesa was kept by a man called Ramon and was situated just over the sand hill south of Coyote Spring. He brought his goods from Santa Fé in wagons, the wheels of which were made of solid disks of wood. Mr. William Keam, from whom Keam's Canyon was named, later had a store with his brother Thomas, who survived him many years. On the cliffs above the north trail was a row of parallel marks showing the number of Utes killed in their last battle with the Hopi, and above, on the edge of the cliff, are still shown the grooves through which the Hopi warriors shot their arrows at incoming foes.

There were only a dozen white visitors at the first Snake dance witnessed by the writer, mostly cowboys drawn from the country round about. There was no large government school in the neighboring Keam's Canyon and the Hopi rarely went to the railroad to trade. They possessed horses and a few cattle and a considerable number of sheep and goats; no pigs, chickens, or turkeys. The Hopi lived mostly on corn, beans, squashes and other vegetables. Matches, tobacco, yeast cakes, and candy were in great demand. In this primitive environment one could readily transport himself in imagination back to the time when Tobar first beheld these people of the mesa. The supply of rabbits, deer, and other game was small, and almost every animal of mammalian form was at times eaten.

The introduction of common household utensils has taken place in the last thirty years. A few fabrics of white man's make were in use, but native blankets, sashes, rabbit-skin rugs, and the like predominated. When the writer visited the Hopi for the first time practically all their cloth was made by themselves, with the exception of the calico pantaloons, or the shirt of scanty proportions which they wore on their shoulders. There was a demand for the flour bags before their contents were consumed, as material for shirts, and it was no uncommon sight during the first years of my stay there to see an adult man wearing a shirt made of a flour bag

with the three X's and the commercial name of the mill on his back, the letters being regarded as ornamental. Incidentally it may be said that the name for flour bag meant "a thing with two ears." Boys and girls up to 12 years went about without clothing.

The razor-back pig was introduced in the autumn of 1891, and the white man's turkey in 1892. The former animal led a rather unpleasant life among the Hopi, being ridden bareback without mercy by the Hopi children. Its customary way of detaching its rider was by crawling through the low doorways of a house wall, entering the basal rooms, and in that way scraping him off.

Although chickens were unknown, eagles were confined in small corrals made of sticks tied together. These eagles were kept for their feathers and the albumen of the eggs was used for glazing masks and not for consumption. They were regarded as sacred, and after death they were deposited in a special graveyard.

About every Indian, certainly every farmer, at that time owned a burro, but it led rather a precarious existence so far as food was concerned. It was a household pet, standing for hours before the houses, making its wants known by braying into the lower rooms. These burros, however, in their search for food often entered fields of corn, and, when that took place, for the first offense it was customary for the Indians to cut off one ear. On a second offense both ears were cut off, and it was no uncommon thing to see these poor animals treated in this manner for their transgressions. The Hopi in 1890 had few wagons and no plows. Everybody traveled on foot, burro, or horseback. There was very little tinware but tin pans were eagerly sought. When first issued one man collected them to hang on the walls of his house for decorative purposes, somewhat as we use Hopi baskets.

The sheep were herded by the women and children, who sometimes carried bows and arrows. Every night these animals were driven into large corrals on the side of the cliff where they were kept until sunrise; often it was 10 A. M., before they were driven out into the fields.

Oraibi was the most populous of the Hopi towns, but on account of its distance from the railroad and its isolation its inhabi-

tants have resisted outsiders with more vigor than those of the other mesas. The government school at Keam's Canyon was opened in 1889. Previous to that time there had been desultory instruction of a very limited kind at Keam's Canyon; but in 1889 the trading store owned by Mr. Thomas V. Keam, from whose brother the canyon was named, was sold to the government, an energetic teacher was engaged, and the school was opened. The people of the East Mesa, and especially of Hano, a pueblo colonized by people from the Rio Grande about 1710 and still speaking the Tewa language, sent the majority of their children to the school. The other towns responded indifferently. The majority came from the East Mesa; few children were obtained from Oraibi, whose chiefs declared that they wished to be let alone, did not want the white people's schools and preferred not to have their children educated in the white man's ways. There were, however, one or two men in Oraibi who for various reasons were very friendly and who were always on hand at the Keam's Canyon agency when anything was disbursed by the government. They were not necessarily the best people in Oraibi. The desire for seclusion antedated the forming of the school, for prior to it there had been more or less trouble between the Oraibi and the whites. At one time Mrs. Stevenson, ethnologist of the Bureau of Ethnology, was detained as prisoner in a kiva from which she was rescued by Mr. Thomas Keam. The Oraibi had repeatedly warned the white people not to attend their religious ceremonials and to keep away as much as possible from the pueblo. The writer was once unceremoniously put out of a kiva by them.

About the year 1890 an order was issued from Washington to divide the land of the Hopi in severalty and surveyors were sent there to survey the Hopi reservation with the view of carrying out the law and apportioning the land. About that time the writer was living at Walpi and took part in a conference which was held in that pueblo regarding this survey. The chiefs were very much disturbed and resented the white people looking over the land through tubes and—in their eyes a more grievous sin—mysteriously putting wooden sticks in the ground. They desiring to know the meaning of this, it was explained to them that the white

man was preparing to grant to each family a plot of land which would be registered in Washington and be protected as the property of their children forever. The chiefs said that there was no necessity for doing this because many of their farms were cultivated by clans that had received them from their ancestors, and in some cases the ownership was inherited from ancestral gods or came to them on account of some incident which occurred in connection with their early migrations. Moreover, it was found that they had an ancient system of land tenure which provided for indigent or unfortunate clans. If the wind blew away the soil from any farm so that barren clay was exposed and no crops could be grown, a council was held and a new farm site was allotted to the unfortunate clan. The aboriginal boundaries of farms were strictly observed and understood by all the inhabitants of the village. The chiefs desired that the government should respect this ancient ownership.

The few friendly Americans that lived near the Hopi looked at the tribal law in a somewhat similar way and a petition was started at that time on behalf of the Indians, drawn up and signed by their sympathizers. This petition also bore the totems of every Indian family, and certainly never before did a more remarkable collection of pictures of snakes, bear's claws, etc., reach the land office. The presence of the surveyors had more or less irritated the Indians and on their departure the Oraibi immediately pulled up the majority of the sticks. The opening of the school at Keam's Canyon increased the misunderstanding, for a certain number of Oraibi boys and girls were taken from Oraibi to attend the school, from which several promptly ran away and returned to their homes. Various other irritations led to the issuing of an order in 1891 to arrest several of the chiefs of Oraibi who had become outspoken, and a small force of soldiers, with the school-teacher and agent, went to the town for that purpose. The gossip in a community like a pueblo is always very great; it is in fact one of the means by which the functions of the town are promoted in an orderly manner and petty crimes prevented. The writer was living in Walpi at the time of the attempt to arrest the Hopi chiefs, with Mr. John G. Owens, a

zealous assistant who later lost his life in the cause of science at Copan, Honduras. The party sent over to make the arrest consisted of a detachment of six men from a company of cavalry that had camped in Keam's Canyon 15 miles east of the first mesa. Besides these six soldiers the party included the school-teacher, the agent, and an interpreter. The soldiers passed the East Mesa about noon and stopped en route at our camp. It was suggested that their force was not large enough to effect an arrest of the chiefs, as the population of Oraibi at that time was about 1,200 people and they had many warriors. The distance from Walpi to Oraibi is several miles, and later in the afternoon the company returned without having made the arrest. What occurred at Oraibi was learned from the interpreter, a Tewa Indian, Tom Polacca, who could speak English fairly well. On entering Oraibi they found, as anticipated, that the whole pueblo had made preparations to resist the soldiers, and the warriors had stationed themselves on the tops of the houses and were armed with bows and arrows and old firearms, some of which may have dated back to the Conquest. The soldiers dismounted and were aligned in one of the main plazas. The officer in command stated the purpose of the visit and proceeded to arrest the chiefs, but no attention was paid to his summons. At this point there occurred an aboriginal custom which has not to my knowledge every been recorded, namely, the method of opening hostilities.

The Hopi have several supernatural beings associated with war, one of whom is called the God of Death, another the Little War God, and the third the mother of the Little War God, known as the Spider Woman. The function of the latter is more or less advisory. She is the mother of the twin gods of war. A man, clothed to represent her, approached the force drawn up on the plaza and advised them to leave, stating that trouble would result if they did not do so. The next personification to approach represented the God of Death, clothed to represent Masawuh. He wore a black mask painted with spots and carried various objects, among which was a bowl filled with a liquid medicine that had been prepared for the occasion, and as he



passed along the line of soldiers he sprinkled them all with this medicine, using for this purpose a feather. He peremptorily ordered the soldiers to leave the pueblo before the appearance of the Little War God, when hostilities would immediately begin. So distinct were these assertions, so small the force of the white men, and the warriors of Oraibi were so formidable in numbers, that the soldiers did not await the appearance of the third personator, Little War God, but withdrew from Oraibi and made their way in order across the plains to the remainder of their force camped in Keam's Canyon, passing my camp at the foot of the East Mesa. This Little War God is the leader of the warriors in their war parties and is known by his knitted cap with a rounded point somewhat resembling a German helmet. His shield is adorned with a figure of the sun and he wears various symbols of war and is decorated with feathers painted red. The parting information given to the Oraibi by the officer in command was that the white soldiers were coming back to punish them for disregarding the law of the country in which they lived. On his return to Keam's Canyon a courier was sent to Los Angeles, California, stating that the Hopi were bad and asking for additional troops. This news was magnified as it spread among the Indians and caused a great deal of excitement and resentment. Mr. Owens and myself, being the only white men at the mesa, were invited to follow the soldiers back to Keam's Canyon, an invitation which we were at first inclined to accept thereby abandoning our ethnological work; but on mature deliberation we decided to remain but to be on guard, fearing that the Oraibi might come to the East Mesa. Shortly news came of the approaching cavalymen, being transmitted from one person to another, very much magnified; and as the Indians had never seen a large force of American soldiers or heard the great guns which they compared with lightning, they greatly feared that the attack might be disastrous to them. About ten days after the withdrawal of the soldiers from our camp the reenforcement from Fort Wingate and other military posts appeared. There were in this accession two companies of cavalry and four Hotchkiss guns. The gun carriages and ammunition were followed by about

one hundred Navahos, who, learning that something was going to occur among the Hopi, had joined the soldiers. As the procession wended its way out of the hills, crawling into the plain like a great snake, it made an imposing appearance. The commanding officer was Major Corbin who, accompanied by Mr. Keam, led the force to get the Indians to furnish hay and grass for the horses. It was feared that the springs would not furnish enough water. As the soldiers passed the East Mesa the chiefs from Walpi came down and promised allegiance, that their own town might not be harmed. In case of an emergency the pueblos rarely act together. There was no union between Walpi and Oraibi; this was Oraibi's trouble and the Walpi left them to settle it as best they could, though affording no help to the soldiers save to bring food to their horses (Fig. 17). Mr. Owens and the writer were invited to join the party, which camped at Toreva, the Sun Spring of the Middle Mesa.

Orders were issued to be ready to start at 2 o'clock the next morning. Men who were sent ahead with a cannon to take possession of the high land overlooking Oraibi started early in the morning and we followed, arriving at the great spring at Oraibi just before sunrise. Word was passed along not to drink water from the spring, as it was probably poisoned—the same old story that was circulated when the Spaniards first entered Tusayan. The soldiers were drawn up about the spring and word sent up the mesa by a courier that six of the foremost men should come down and place themselves under arrest. In about half an hour these chiefs appeared, looking very anxious for the future of themselves and their town. The writer happened to be standing near Major Corbin as the first of the chiefs approached and saw him present to the Major a flat stone upon which were certain marks. The stone was handed to us for examination and when the Hopi was asked to explain it he said it was the testament given to his ancestors by the gods securing to the clans of Oraibi control of all the country about their town. This stone was later passed to other officers and then returned to the Indians. A search was made for it subsequently, but it was impossible to find it or to gain any further information regarding its whereabouts.

The six men who obeyed the summons to come down from the mesa were put in charge of soldiers and marched up the narrow trail, while the other soldiers went up the long trail or main entrance to the town. Constant use of this trail by many

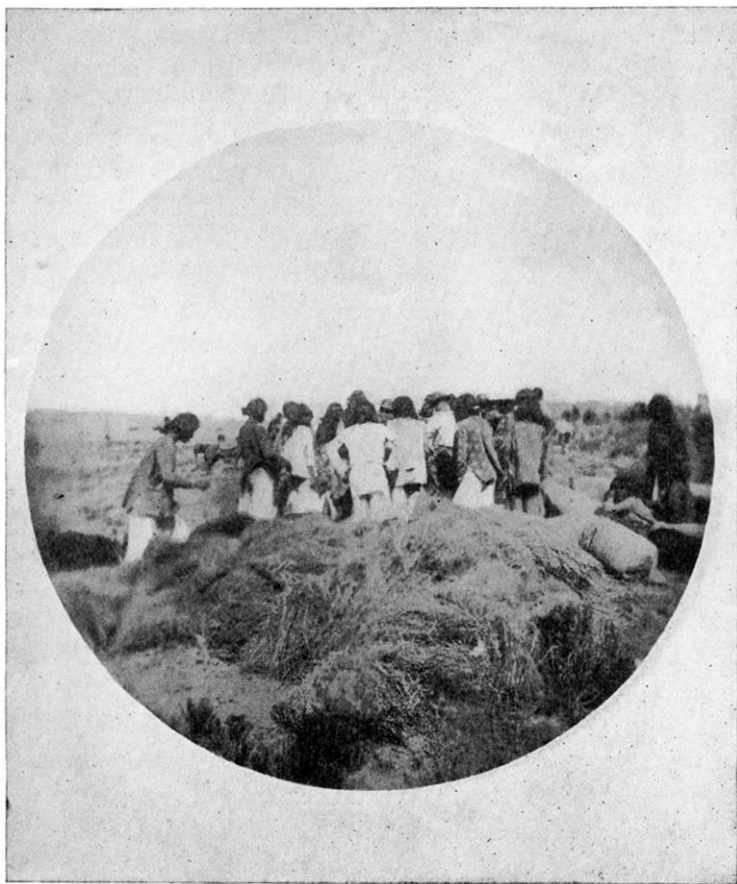


FIG. 17.—Hopi Indians gathering grass for the horses of the punitive expedition to Oraibi in 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

people from an unknown antiquity has worn a groove in the rock several feet deep in places. As the command approached the town there stood in the middle of this trail a man of middle age clothed to represent the war chief and by his side was a younger man about eighteen years of age dressed in the same way. The

older man was asked who he was and whether he was going to fight. He responded, "I am the warrior chief representing the War God and this is my son, the hereditary war chief. We are willing to fight, but our people are not; we wish you would take us as hostages and do with us what you like, but do not destroy my people."

The writer never recalls this episode on the trail to Oraibi, which happened thirty years ago, without admiration for this war



FIG. 18.—The population of Oraibi crowded together on the mesa point. The soldiers were drawn up between the village and the Indians. Town crier (in white shirt) urges the chief to confer with the officers. Photograph by Fewkes.

chief of Oraibi. This man was put under arrest with his son and marched into the pueblo, followed by the troops. When we entered we found the place deserted. Not a person was in sight. The windows and doors were closed and plastered up with adobe: even dogs were absent; there was not a sign of any person. Someone said, "They are out on the point"; we marched out through the town, and there on the point of the mesa, looking south, were huddled the whole population of Oraibi, the women crying, the men sullen and defiant (Fig. 18). Many of them carried baskets on

their backs, apparently containing all of their possessions. Major Corbin drew up a line of troops across the mesa from one rim to the other between the pueblo and the place where the people were gathered (Fig. 19). The soldiers dismounted and a command was



FIG. 19.—Dismounted U. S. Cavalry with Oraibi in rear. Punitive expedition to Oraibi, 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

sent to those who had control of the cannon to put it in position. The Indian chiefs were then invited to come forward and have a smoke-talk. The six chiefs had meanwhile arrived and were seated on the ground, guarded by the soldiers who had arrested them (Fig. 20). At first, in reply to the command of the officer, not a chief advanced, but after repeated invitations a considerable number took seats near those who had been brought up from the spring. The Hopi were then informed that the cannon would be fired in order that they might see how powerless they were to resist the white people. While we were watching the shooting which had for

its target a distant peach orchard and were looking at the sand flying in the air as a result of the explosions one of the chiefs in the arrested party jumped away from his guard and escaped, plunging over the edge of the mesa, which was very high. He was pursued by

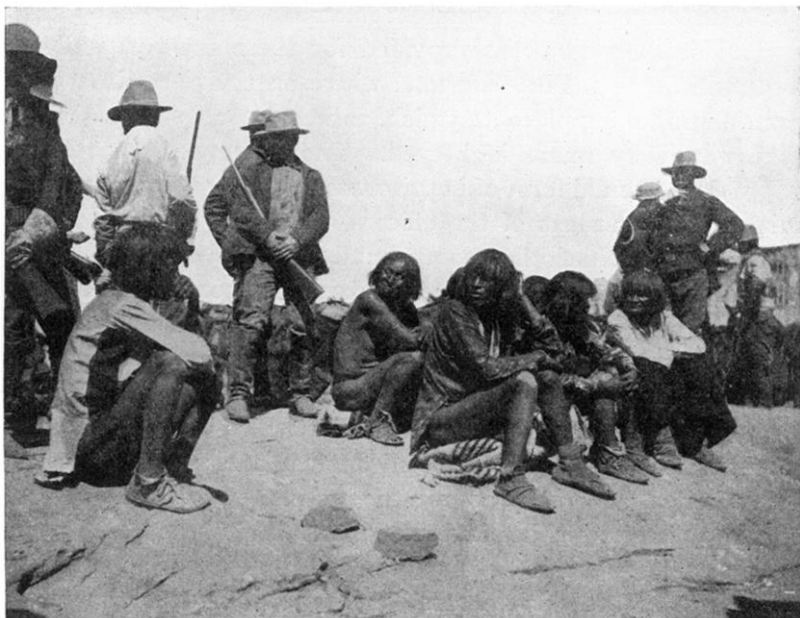


FIG. 20.—Oraibi chiefs captured by Major Corbin's command in the summer of 1891. Photograph by Fewkes.

his former captors, who fired at him without effect. Orders were given to the soldiers not to shoot indiscriminately as it would endanger the lives of the Hopi. A few soldiers were told to pursue the Indian and bring him back; but they were unable to capture him. A number of Navahos who accompanied the expedition renewed the search and, although they did not capture the fugitive, they did find that in the caves of the rocks below the rim of the mesa the Oraibi had hidden all their wealth—pottery, blankets, silverware, and everything of value they possessed. The Oraibi were informed that the five chiefs would be carried away to Fort Wingate. The major gave the Oraibis good advice and

then the soldiers returned to the Middle Mesa, camping that night near the spring called Toreva. The arrested men were tied together with ropes for the night and in the morning when we started back home they were told that if they wished their wives to accompany them the women could do so. No woman responded, although they brought blankets and food for their husbands. A wagon was provided for these captives and the force withdrew to Fort Wingate, where on their arrival a dress parade was taking place at which, as was later told by a Hopi, they were very much frightened. The only punishment they suffered was a mild form of imprisonment. They were detailed to cultivate the gardens of the officers, which they did, and were presented with old clothes from around the camp, the gift of which they greatly appreciated. From subsequent conversations with them the writer found they were much pleased with their sojourn and never ceased to tell of their pleasure at having been prisoners at that post. This event, however, did little to quell the hostile element, and in course of time the feeling which had been opposed to the white people was directed against one another, factions being formed at enmity among themselves. Oraibi was divided into two classes, hostiles and friendlies. They hated each other so much that men who belonged to the Antelope or Snake society would not attend each others' celebrations, and as time went on this hostility became so great that one branch withdrew and founded a new town called Hotavila. This new town later increased in size at the expense of Oraibi and another, Pakabi, was founded so that probably in the course of time Oraibi will be deserted and its history will be investigated only by archaeological methods.

One word more. As years pass and the Hopi culture is a thing of the past there will be an ever-increasing interest in these Indians and it would be desirable to preserve one or more of these pueblos for the sightseer and visitor. Oraibi is now almost deserted and is falling into ruin. In a few years it will suffer great destruction. Why should it not be preserved as a monument, a type or object lesson to future Americans of the nature of one kind of house of the American aborigine?

The splitting up of Oraibi a few years ago into fragments, each a separate pueblo, has probably occurred in pueblo migration history again and again, although the reverse, viz., consolidation of clans or groups of clans, is more common. In the roster of clans, including both living and extinct, in a village like Walpi, there is a disproportion in the number of living inhabitants to clans or groups of clans, especially when we add synonyms and defunct clans to the number of the living. For instance there were at Walpi in 1900, 205 living inhabitants belonging to 11 clans or peoples (groups of clans) but there are many other social units that the Hopi include in each group. The discussion of Hopi sociology is, however, a subject not to be considered now, although I have considerable unpublished data on the extinct clans of Walpi and on the clan synonymy of these pueblos.

### III. ORAIBI IN 1920

By Elsie Clews Parsons

Oraibi, the Hopi town on Third or West Mesa, has presented during the last few decades an instance of that process of tribal or town division which has probably been a character of Pueblo Indian life for centuries. The Oraibi split was a consequence of friction from contact with white culture, just as splits on the Rio Grande, tradition runs, were due in Spanish days to foreign contact. But if Southwestern ruins say anything, long before the advent of the Conquistadores the habit of town splitting must have developed.

In 1891, Voth records,<sup>1</sup> "strenuous efforts" were made to secure pupils for the government school in Keam's Cañon, a measure bitterly resented by some of the people of Oraibi who were also opposed to such government undertakings as the allotment of land in severalty, the building of houses below the mesa, and the introduction of American clothing and agricultural machinery. The town chief (*gigmungwi* or chief of the houses) Lolúlomai, Bear clansman, was sympathetic to the pro-American

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<sup>1</sup> "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 9. Field Columbian Museum Pub. 55. Anthropol. Ser. III, no. 1. 1901.



faction, and so the anti-Americans recognized Lomanhuñyoma as their *gigmungwi*. Lomanhuñyoma was the chief of the Spider people,<sup>2</sup> a clan group connected or equated with the Bear people.

From recently acquired data it has become clear that the Hopi clanship system consists of what in a discussion of Iroquois organization<sup>3</sup> Goldenweiser has called maternal families,<sup>4</sup> which are more or less loosely connected as a common group or clan. Each of these maternal families has a name, a maternal or stock house where fetiches, masks, etc., are kept, and a male head or chief together with a female head, "our oldest mother," as a Hopi will refer to her, the senior or representative woman of the stock house. The male head is also closely associated with this house. He is also the chief of any ceremony which is "handed," as the Hopi say, by the clan. In other words, a ceremony is primarily in charge of a maternal family or family connection,<sup>5</sup> rather than of the clan as a whole.

The maternal families are socially stable organizations, subject to extinction only through natural causes, but the clan of which they are a part is more or less socially unstable, i.e., the maternal families combine in different ways in different towns and in course of time in different ways in the same town. For example, at Walpi Rabbit people (or maternal family) and Tobacco people form one clan, whereas at Oraibi Rabbit-Tobacco people combine with Parrot-Kachina people into a clan, and on Second Mesa (Mishongnovi), according to Dr. Lowie, with Badger-Butterfly-Porcupine people. At First Mesa the Reed people go in, as the Hopi say, with the Sun-Eagle-Little-war-gods people, and at Shöhmopavi on Second Mesa the Reed people also combine with the Sun people, whereas on Third Mesa it is the

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<sup>2</sup> Already in 1883 this group appears to have been anti-American. See "Oraibi in 1883," this issue, p. 259, according to which the anti-American leader claimed to be *gigmungwi* as a descendant from Spider and Bat, as did Lomanhuñyoma a few years later. ("The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 9.)

<sup>3</sup> Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Canada, 1913, pp. 365-372. "A maternal family embraces all the male and female descendants of a woman, the descendants of her female descendants, and so on." (p. 368).

<sup>4</sup> This was first pointed out by Dr. Lowie in a field report made in 1915.

<sup>5</sup> Goldenweiser notes that among the Iroquois the succession of chiefs follows the lines of the maternal families.

Greasewood (*t'ebe*)-Bow-Sparrow-hawk-Crane people that the Reed people are with. On Second Mesa the Sparrow-hawk-Crane people combine with the Squash people (Lowie), extinct on Third and First Mesas. Again, in one town there may be but one group to one clan, but this group may bear a double name from its equation with another group in another town. In Hano on First Mesa there is a Sand clan, but the group may be referred to as Snake or Lizard clan, since it is equated with the Walpi Snake clan, formed of a Snake maternal family and a Lizard maternal family (also a Cactus maternal family). In Hano "Snake" and "Lizard" are *merely the other names* of the Sand clan. In general talk with Hopi it is extremely difficult to discover whether the double name is merely *that*, the expression of an equating tendency, or whether it actually represents different groups.

As maternal families shrink, their combination in the same town in clan or ceremony may change. For example, today on First Mesa there are but three Snake clansmen to perform the Snake ceremony, among them the Antelope society chief. But the Snake people have combined with the Lizard people and the Cactus<sup>6</sup> people, formerly, tradition goes, distinct clans. And in 1919 it was a Lizard clansman who was chief of the ceremony, calling the preliminary smoke assembly, in the maternal house of the Cactus people. Hitherto all the Snake people have been in the ceremony, but not all the Lizard people. However, so diminished are the Snake (and Cactus) representatives that other Lizard men, I am told, will have to be invited to the smoke assembly of 1921.

In 1894 Dr. Fewkes records an independent Pine (*tenyo*) clan at Tewa;<sup>7</sup> in 1920 the Pine people were described to me as belonging to the Bear clan, and as corroboratory of this I noted that the daughter of a Tewa Bear clan man was named Si'kyayonsi, Yellow Standing (Pine implied).

Since there are no separate Hopi terms for maternal family and for the clan as a whole, and since there is a native tendency

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<sup>6</sup> Note that no Cactus group appears in the Snake-Lizard group of Third Mesa.

<sup>7</sup> "The Kinship of a Tanoan-Speaking Community in Tusayan," in *American Anthropologist*, (o. s.), VII, 166, 1894.

to equate groups and little or no native knowledge of the actual grouping from town to town, it is not surprising that students have found the Hopi clan system baffling. And yet its analysis is indispensable to an understanding of town history—as in the case of Oraibi. Why was Lomanhuñyoma taken as town chief by the conservative faction? Because he was the head of the maternal family<sup>8</sup> which was at that time a part of the Bear clan—and there is a tradition that the town chief should come from the Bear clan. The town chief is in fact in every town a Bear clansman, except in Walpi,<sup>9</sup> and there the Flute ceremony dramatizes the change of dynasty, so to speak, from the Bear clan to the Millet (*leh*) clan. And why are there today no Bear people, only Spider-Bluebird people, at Hotavila, the colony that went out from Oraibi at the time the split of the two factions was fully consummated? Because in Hopi practice it is quite possible to regroup maternal families within the larger unit we call a clan and because, in this case, the Bear maternal family remained at Oraibi as one clan unit and the Spider-Bluebird maternal families became established at Hotavila as another distinctive clan unit.

On September 28, 1906, the anti-American, conservative faction left Oraibi, to settle about six miles to the northwest on the cedar covered slope since known as Hotavila (*ho*, cedar, *avila*, slope). They left in a body—I had the story from one of the immigrants—men, women and children, in wagons, on horseback, afoot, and they put up temporary shelters, “hogans” said my informant, to live in while they were at work on their houses. That work, when winter was setting in, was rudely interrupted by the government, and men were arrested and sent away to Carlisle and other schools (according to a First Mesa informant all the men, young and old, all but one old man, were carried off to school or to jail), leaving the women and children to face the winter in their unfinished houses.

Such is the tradition current among the people, to be reckoned with in considering the Hotavila attitude of hostility to the

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<sup>8</sup> The lineal descendant of Spider Woman, as Voth reports, meaning, I take it, that Spider Woman fetiches were in the custody of his family.

<sup>9</sup> See, too, p. 296.

government and white people as well as the systematic and self-conscious endeavor of Hotavila people to return to archaic ways of life. Shoes and stockings have been discarded together with the calico that in recent decades has come everywhere to be worn under the native woolen dress; and the square shoulder piece which completes a woman's dress has been lengthened from the hip line to the bottom of the skirt, interesting evidence of a tradition in dress of which I, for one, was quite unaware. A revival of the vanished art of making turkey feather cloaks would be too much to expect; but in no town have I seen as many flocks of turkeys, which points, I have no doubt, to an unusual devotion to prayer-stick making. Chicken feathers are used in the game of *matabi*<sup>10</sup> which about several doorways I saw the children playing. As I was struck by the secularization of this game which at Zuñi is exclusively ceremonial,<sup>11</sup> so my First Mesa escort was struck by the early morning bathing of the men. He had watched them descend to the spring at the foot of the declivity on the north side of town, and he had counted, he told me, at least seven baths. About this spring there are a considerable number of women's gardens, laid out in little mud walled squares exactly as at Zuñi. Notched log ladders are in use, if sparingly, and the houses are two storied and built in clusters. I counted five kivas. There are even ruins.<sup>12</sup> The fourteen year old town betrays its youth in no respect; it might well have been standing there for centuries.

Hotavila has been true to type, too, in the matter of feud or dissension. Four years after its founding, in 1910, a progressive or pro-American group had developed, this time to be thrust out by the conservatives. The progressive group returned to Oraibi;

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<sup>10</sup> A thick ring made of corn husks is rolled to a dart of corn cob surrounded by two feathers and pointed with a piece of greasewood (*l'ebe*). On First Mesa children may play this game only in January and February. The game is no longer played by adults. My middle aged informant had seen it played when he was a little boy. The players lined up on two sides, one side throwing the ring, the other side the dart. If the dart throwers "missed ten times, they were beaten."

<sup>11</sup> It has ceremonial associations also at Sia, for the darts of corn cob and hawk feathers have been found in a war god shrine.

<sup>12</sup> When people migrate they are likely to take their house beams with them, I was told, in explanation of the ruinous aspect of Oraibi and even of Hotavila.

but for some reason or other they were not wanted there and so they in turn founded a town, Pakabi, place of reeds (from the reeds, *pakab*, growing around their spring),<sup>13</sup> about two miles away from Hotavila. Of very modern appearance is this town—the houses symmetrically placed around the central plaza, one storied, with brightly painted window frames, and as far as I could see with only one kiva (there are *two*, it is said).

What of the migrations to Hotavila and Pakabi from the point of view of clans? Did the people migrate by clans, in accordance with the familiar theory that Pueblo Indian migration was ever by clan, or did they split up and migrate on some other basis of affiliation? Table I gives the answer—at least in part.

TABLE 1. CLANS OF ORAIBI, HOTAVILA, PAKABI

<i>Oraibi</i>	<i>Hotavila</i>	<i>Pakabi</i>
1. Bear ( <i>huna</i> ), Spider ( <i>k'oxygan</i> )	Spider, Blue-Bird	Bear
2. Reed ( <i>pakab</i> ), Greasewood ( <i>t'ebe</i> ), Bow ( <i>awat'</i> ), Sparrow-hawk ( <i>k'ele</i> ), Crane ( <i>at'ók</i> )	Arrow ( <i>hoxe</i> )  Reed	
3. Snake ( <i>chú</i> ), Sand ( <i>towa'</i> )	Snake, Sand	Snake, Lizard, Sand
4. Coyote, <i>Massau</i> , <i>kokob</i> , [Burrowing Owl?] Agave ( <i>kwan</i> )	Coyote, <i>Massau</i>	Coyote
5. Eagle ( <i>kwa</i> ), Sun ( <i>tawa</i> )	Eagle, Sun	Sun
6. Water-house ( <i>patki</i> ), Young-Corn-ear ( <i>pihkash</i> ), Cloud ( <i>omah</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	Water-house, Young-Corn-Ear, Cloud	Corn
7. Parrot ( <i>kyash</i> ), <i>kachina</i> , Tobacco ( <i>pip</i> ), Rabbit ( <i>tab</i> ), Wild Tobacco ( <i>ch'ip</i> )		
8. Badger ( <i>honana</i> ), Butterfly, ( <i>powölöhoya</i> ) <sup>2</sup>		Badger

<sup>1</sup> Voth includes *Shiwáhpí*, sage. ("The Oraíbi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 5 n. 1, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthropol. Ser. VI, no. 1., 1903.)

<sup>2</sup> Only one woman representative.

<sup>13</sup> A large spring, near which grew cotton woods the first of which was said to have been transplanted from *kishiwuu*, the home of many *kachina*. A cotton wood branch from Pakabi was placed on the *powamu* altar. (H. R. Voth, "The Oraibi Pawamu Ceremony," p. 108. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 61. Anthropol. Ser. vol. III, no. 2, 1901).

Given the present distribution, it is clear that the migrations were not by clan, at least as clan has always been defined. But maternal families, as we have considered them, did count, I believe, in the migrations. The case of the Bear-Spider-Bluebird families is in point,<sup>14</sup> and if we knew more about the ceremonial disintegration at Oraibi it would be seen, I surmise, that several of the ceremony-holding maternal families migrated to Hotavila. Others staid on in Oraibi there to perpetuate their ceremonies or, on turning Christian or ultra-American, to let them lapse. Let me digress again to a general consideration of Hopi clanship, in relation to migration and ceremonial ties. The custodian of a clan fetich believes that were he to migrate all his clans-people would have to follow him, and, no doubt, those who attached importance to the fetich would indeed follow him. Now the members of the custodian maternal family are those who most value the fetich and who would stay by it. So that when a Hopi refers to migration of clan he is really referring to migration by fetich-holding maternal family, to him the heart of the clan. To his white auditor he rarely or never makes clear this distinction, firstly because it is so clear to himself and secondly because he is loath to discuss or even refer to the fetiches. And yet in native philosophy it is the clan fetich or the clan mask (*wöye*)—every clan has a *wöye*, I believe, an ancestral mask, although not every clan has a corn bundle fetich (*tiponi*) and in consequence a ceremony—which holds the group together.

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<sup>14</sup> The Spider family from which the town chief was selected by the conservatives were the custodians of the Antelope ceremony in the Snake ceremony and no doubt migrated with their ceremony, since the Snake ceremony is celebrated now at Hotavila and not at Oraibi. (In 1916 Dr. Lowie saw the snake dance at Oraibi without the Antelope group). Already in 1903 the conservative faction had been in control of the Snake ceremony for ten or twelve years, virtually no liberal member of the ceremony participating. (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," pp. 273, 275, in *Field Columbian Mus. Pub.* 83, *Anthrop. Ser.* III, no. 4, 1903.) Whether or not the town chieftaincy has remained with the Spider people at Hotavila is uncertain. Yukyuma is referred to as the Town chief, and in Voth's list of the Antelope society members in 1896 I find that one Yuki'oma is given as a *ko'kob* (Lizard) clansman (Voth 2:283). (There is some error here, as *ko'kob* refers to the Coyote-Firewood clan.)

These days Yukyuma spends mostly in jail in Keam's Canyon, as when he is at large he uncompromisingly opposes sending the children to school.

To return to Oraibi. As noted in Table 2, the *powamu*, *wöwöchim* and Singers (*tataukya*) ceremonies and, of course, the

TABLE 2. CEREMONIAL PERSONNEL OF ORAIBI

	1920	1903 or before
Town chief <sup>1</sup> ( <i>gigmungwi</i> )	Tawakwaptiwa, Bear	Lolu'lomai, <sup>2</sup> Bear
Crier chief ( <i>chaakmungwi</i> )	Poliyes'tiwa, Reed	Loma'nkwa, Reed
<i>kalehktaka</i> (warrior)	Talasvöyaöma, Coyote	Koyo'nainiwa, Badger <sup>3</sup> (?)
Winter solstice chief ( <i>Soyalmungwi</i> )	Talaskwaptiwa, <sup>4</sup> Sun	Shökhunñyoma, Bear
Tobacco chief	Talasmönyunya, Tobacco	Tala'ssyamtiwa, Tobacco
Medicine chief <sup>5</sup>	Siletstiwa, Badger	
<i>wöwöchim</i> chief	K'oyapi, Sparrow-hawk	Massavestiwa, <i>kachina</i>
<i>tataukya</i> chief	Masanhovah, Parrot	Süma, Badger, d. 1896.
<i>powamu</i> chief	Masanhovah, Parrot	Qömhoiniwa, brother of Siima.
Snake chief		Mashängöntiwa, Snake
Sun clan chief	Talaskwaptiwa	
Bear clan chief	Tawakwaptiwa	
Snake clan chief	Tobeyamtiwa	
Agave clan chief	Lomanlexötiwa d. 1916	
Water-house chief	Lomanhovah d., de- scendants Christian.	(Drab Flute chief in 1901, Voth)
Parrot clan chief	Masanhovah	
Tobacco-Rabbit clan chief	Talasmönyunya <sup>6</sup>	
Badger clan chief	Siletstiwa	
Reed clan chief	Polyestiwa	
Sparrow-hawk clan chief	K'oyapi	

<sup>1</sup> He and the following five chiefs compose the *momuwit* (the chiefs' assembly). Voth gives the group as composed of Town chief, Crier, War chief, Parrot clan chief, and Tobacco chief of the *Soyal* Society (a Tobacco-Rabbit clansman). "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony," p. 102, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Chief in 1883. See "Oraibi in 1883," this issue, p. 259. In a list of anti-Americans at that time Mr. Cushing refers to Pitchifvia as the would-be *kiakwemosona* (Zuñi) or *gigmungwi* of Oraibi, the man who wanted to succeed Lolu'lomai.

<sup>3</sup> Powamu Ceremony, p. 102, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> See Voth: Pl. II b.

<sup>5</sup> He participates in every ceremony.

<sup>6</sup> If absent, his place may be filled by Masanhovah, Parrot clan chief.

winter solstice ceremony or *soyala*,<sup>15</sup> are still maintained. *Powamu* was in Voth's day in charge of the pro-American faction. The maternal family here was Badger, and we note that of these people and their affiliated group there are no representatives at Hotavila or Pakabi. In Voth's day, *Oa'qol*, a woman's autumn ceremony, was in charge of Sand people of the pro-American faction.<sup>16</sup> The ceremony is still performed in Oraibi, but it has become generalized, so to speak; it may be performed by anybody, at any season. An affiliated group, Lizard people, were in charge of another woman's ceremony, the *marau*, and Voth records in 1903 that the chief had become Christian and the ceremony was being performed by his half-brother.<sup>17</sup> Today this ceremony has lapsed. Two of the ceremonies associated with *wöwöchim* and Singers have lapsed—the Agave (*kwan*) ceremony whose last chief, Lomanlexotiwa, of the Agave clan people, died about four years ago, and whose sister's son had only been in the ceremony one year and was not qualified, even had he wished (and he is very much Americanized), to carry it on; and the Horn (*ahl*) ceremony whose last chief was Nasiwai'tiwa of the Bow (*awat*) clanspeople. Nasiwai'tiwa is still living, but after a sickness he let his ceremony lapse. It had been "too dangerous for him."<sup>18</sup>

During a very brief visit to Oraibi I secured from an unusually intelligent and frank young man the data in Table 2 on the change of ceremonial personnel since Voth's day. There are many gaps in the information, but besides the record, such as it is, a few interesting points come out, of which the chief is the succession to the town chieftancy. Tawakwaptiwa, the present town chief,

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<sup>15</sup> At this time men are supposed to observe a retreat in the kiva associated with their clan. Colonies or suburbs, like Sichumovi or Mönkopi, do not celebrate *soyala* independently of the mother town. Hotavila and Pakabi, on the other hand, have their own *soyala*. From the fact alone that only four kivas participated in *soyala* at Oraibi in 1899 as against ten in 1897 (Dorsey and Voth 1:12), the final split might have been foreseen.

<sup>16</sup> The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 3. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 84, Anthropol. Ser. vi, no. 1., 1903.

<sup>17</sup> "The Oraibi Marau Ceremony," p. 11. Field Mus. of Nat. History Pub. 156, Anthropol. Ser. xi, no. 1. 1912.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Voth's observation of men not engaging in the Snake ceremony because they were afraid. ("Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," 293.)



is the sister's son of Lolu'lomai, town chief up to 1903, if not after. The name Tawakwaptiwa was given the bearer on initiation into the *wōwōchim* ceremony by his ceremonial father, Talaskwaptiwa, now chief of the winter solstice ceremony. In Voth's day both these men took part in that ceremony, the latter a leading part. The wife of Talaskwaptiwa was a Bear clanswoman and as *soyala mana* had been prominent in the winter solstice ceremony.<sup>19</sup> In 1893 and later the town chief and the winter solstice chief were own brothers, the town chief being also a functionary in the ceremony; today the incumbents are of different clans, but their relationship as individuals is close. In the Tewa town on First Mesa the two offices are held by the same man, that is the town chief (*poañ toyo*) is one of the two chiefs of the winter solstice ceremony. To use the Tewa terms of Rio Grande organization, the summer cacique presides with the winter cacique over the winter solstice ceremony, when they turn the Sun back to summer. Among the Hopi, the offices of Town chief and winter solstice chief are definitely distinguishable, although as one might expect a priori, the jurisdiction of both offices extending to the community as a whole, some conceptual association exists, it seems probable, between the offices. In fact in Oraibi tradition at the time of emergence and after, the Town chief was also the winter solstice chief, and with his clan, the Bear, the winter solstice *kachina* were associated.<sup>20</sup> I may note, too, that the shrine on First Mesa where prayer-sticks are offered at both solstices belongs to the Bear clan. It is the home of Spider Grandmother.<sup>21</sup>

In 1903, Loma'nkwa, town-crier for the pro-American faction, was killed in a ditch cave-in.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately the relationship between him and his successor, also a Reed clansman, was not known to my informant.

Koyo'nainiwa, War chief (*kalehktaka*), in Voth's day, was said by my informant to have belonged not to the Badger clan

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<sup>19</sup> "The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony," p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Voth, H. R. "The Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 19, 24. Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 96. Anthropol. Ser. VIII, 1905.

<sup>21</sup> The shrine is in the peach orchard a mile or more north of the gap. Unfortunately my notes are uncertain as to whether it is a Tewa shrine or a Hopi.

<sup>22</sup> "The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony," pl. iv.

as Voth states, but to the Bear<sup>23</sup> clan and to have held office because of his fighting prowess. But, today, not only at Oraibi, but in all the towns, asserted my informant, the office is filled by a Coyote clansman. This is not true at Walpi and Shöhmopavi at least, where the War chief is a Reed clansman, or at Hano where, as at Shöhmopavi, there is no Coyote clan, and the War chief (Tewa, *p'otali*) is a Cottonwood (*kachina*) clansman, but the statement of the Oraibi informant is interesting as showing the standardizing tendency of a Hopi and as suggesting that with the lapse of warrior-making through war or scalp-taking the war office may have been fitted into the clan or maternal family pattern of office-holding.<sup>24</sup>

Moshohungwa (Masañhovah), was in 1899 *kachina* chief in the *powamu* ceremony. This office had belonged in the *kachina* maternal family, however, and there had been considerable discussion about the succession. Moshohungwa, having acted as assistant, was better qualified than Massavestiwa, the nephew of the incumbent who died in 1895. The outcome was that Moshohungwa was to continue as *kachina* chief in *powamu* and that Massavestiwa was to become Singers chief, a position also held by his deceased uncle.<sup>25</sup> Since then, Qömhoiniwa, who was about seventy years old in 1901, has died and the office has passed to Moshohungwa, presumedly the best qualified man for it, passing out of the Badger clan into the Parrot clan. And yet in time, if not already, one is likely to be told in Oraibi, I have little doubt, that the office was always in the Parrot clan, such is the standardizing Hopi spirit. It is a pity we do not know how Moshohungwa got the place of Massavestiwa as Singers chief.

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<sup>23</sup> Badger and Bear in Hopi sound somewhat similar and I think that Voth has in this case, as in others I have noted, confused the two words. For example, Silets-tiwa (See Table 2) is given by Voth as Bear, whereas my informant gives him as Badger. As medicine chief it is most likely that Silets-tiwa is Badger, since the association between the Badger and medicine is, in Hopi opinion, very close. (A like association, by the way, may account for the prominence of the Badger clan in the *kachina* cult among the Hopi, at Zuñi, and at Laguna.)

<sup>24</sup> Again, there may be as at Zuñi a war ceremony which has long since been associated with the Coyote clan. In the war ritual conducted at Oraibi during the winter solstice ceremony a Coyote clansman was, after Voth, the assistant to the War chief.

<sup>25</sup> "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony," pp. 71-2.

To any student of Pueblo Indian life it will be apparent, even from this fragmentary note, how significant to the general study of Pueblo Indian ceremonialism were an intensive study of the past thirty or forty years of Oraibi history. Here under our eyes has gone on an immensely interesting process of cultural change of which we have as yet but the barest record—to so many of us study of the past is so much more appealing than study of the present, even the present in which the past repeats itself, in terms clearer and more pregnant than archaeology can ever use.

#### IV. SHÖHMO'PAVI IN 1920

By Elsie Clews Parsons

Shöhmo'pavi lies to the southwest of the two other towns on Second Mesa, about two miles by trail down the cliffs and across the plain, but several miles more by wagon road around the mesa top. Thus off the direct wagon roads between the three mesas, Shöhmo'pavi<sup>1</sup> appears to have been the least visited of all the Tusayan towns and the least described. In fact I have failed to find any specific accounts at all of Shöhmo'pavi.

In December, 1920, I paid a brief visit to Shöhmo'pavi with a Tewa Bear clansman from First Mesa, the father's sister's son of the Sun-watcher of Shöhmo'pavi. We staid in the house not of this connection but of Wisnima, a woman of Tewa descent, a Cloud (Tewa, *Okuah*)<sup>2</sup> clanswoman, whose mother came from Tewa as a child with her parents during a great famine. She married a Bear clansman, and her daughter, our hostess, married a Sun clansman, child of Bear. Wisnima cannot speak Tewa.<sup>3</sup> Wisnima's daughter is married to a Bear clansman, child of Snow, John Növatic or Snowy-foot. This young man's brother is Peter Növamösa or Snowbird. Like other Hopi, they got their patronymic from one of their father's clanswomen, an aboriginal

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<sup>1</sup> The name is from *shömo'pa*, a water plant. The old town was built near a spring below the mesa.

<sup>2</sup> One of the clan's "other names" is Snow (*püng*), which equates it with the Snow clan of Shöhmo'pavi (and the *patki*, Waterhouse clan, of Walpi and Oraibi).

<sup>3</sup> And yet her mother's sister's son is K'élang, Sun Watcher of Tewa and Keeper of the War God (*awęle*) images.

practice, and their first name they got in school. I know of no more striking instance than this Hopi naming system of that truly marvelous facility of the Pueblo Indian of pouring old wine into a new bottle.

#### CLANS

The Shöhmo'pavi clans are Bear—Rope—Spider—Blue-bird—Greasy hole (*honyamö*, *piqwösinyamö*, *choshnyamö*, *wikösiñnyamö*), *Kachina*—Parrot (*kachininyamö*, *kyashnyamö*), Snow—Water-house—Young-corn-ear (*növyanyamö*, *patki*, *pihkash*), Sun—Forehead—Reed (*tawanyamö*, *kalangnyamö*, *pakab*)—four exogamous groups. Formerly there were Horn (*ahliñnyamö*) and millet (*lehnyamö*) clans, but before my informant, a man past middle age, was born, they became extinct. Their lands may be used today by anyone.

The migration-naming clan legends are of the same character, just as one might expect, as those of First Mesa and of Third Mesa. Those of the Bear clan and of the Sun clan I recorded in abbreviated form.

After the Bear people came out they found a bear lying dead. They skinned him, and made a rope. After skinning him, they found that a spider had made a web inside the skeleton. So they had the spider in their clan. Pretty soon they found a blue bird sitting on top of the bear. They found that the bear's eyes had been taken out and that the holes were greasy. . . . When the Sun people came up they passed through reeds. They came up as the Sun came up and they saw *his forehead*.<sup>4</sup> . . . It was *palatkwabi* whence they came out, whence all the people came out. (That is, *palatkwabi* is referred to at Shöhmo'pavi, as I have heard it referred to on First Mesa, as the place of emergence, the *shipap*<sup>u</sup> of the Keresans.)

#### KIVAS

There are five, three side by side on the north edge of town, *choshobi* (Blue-bird kiva)—*obi* means "top" or "up" and appears

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<sup>4</sup> In an explanation given on First Mesa the Forehead people were so called because the day they emerged when the sun came up their foreheads were just above ground.

to be the usual term for kiva<sup>5</sup>—associated with the Blue-bird people, *kyashobi* (Parrot kiva), which is the *mong* or chief kiva, and *növaobi* (Snow kiva); another kiva on the east edge of town, *yoya'obi*, associated with the Bear clan; and in one of the two central plazas, *növatökyaoobi*, (Snow Mountain, i.e., San Francisco mountain, kiva). *Yoyaobi* had been destroyed, but it was being repaired. Here as elsewhere the kiva was associated with a clan group of builders. From the statement that if a clan got too big for a kiva they would build another kiva, I infer that a clan may have more than one kiva. And this may account for the two Snow kivas. The associations between kivas (as used not by clans but in ceremonies), clans, and ceremonies or offices are given in the following table. All three women's ceremonies are held in the same kiva, Parrot or *mong* (chief) kiva. Since Singers, Agave, Horn, and *wöwöchim* are synchronous ceremonies and we know where the first three are held, *wöwöchim* must be held in either Blue-bird or Snow kiva, and, because of clan affiliations, I guess Blue-bird. Unfortunately, I did not learn of the kiva used in the Snake ceremony or in the Flute ceremony.

#### OFFICES AND CEREMONIES

As in all the towns but Walpi, the Town chief is of the Bear clan. In the other offices there is far less uniformity, little or none in fact. Whereas on First Mesa the Crier chief is Snake, the War chief, Reed, and the Sun-watcher, Water-house, at Shöhmo'pavi the Crier chief is Bear, the War chief and the Sun-watcher, Reed. At Oraibi the Crier chief is Reed, the War chief, Coyote; there is no Sun-watcher. Similarly with the ceremonies, the groups which hand them (*nanapelelu*, they hand it) or pass them on, are different in different towns. The winter solstice ceremony is in charge at Shöhmo'pavi of the *Kachina*-Parrot people, at First Mesa, of Water-house people, at Oraibi, of Sun people, formerly of Bear people; and so with the other ceremonies excepting *powamu* which is steadfastly in the hands of the *Kachina*-Parrot people. I note also that both at Oraibi and at Shöhmo'pavi the Singers society is in charge of *Kachina*-Parrot people.

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<sup>5</sup> "The Oraibi Oáqöl Ceremony," p. 5.

In Shöhmo'pavi opinion the Snake society and the war group are identical. The Snake society chief is also the War chief.<sup>6</sup>

There are but three male members of the *Kachina*-Parrot clan, and their ceremonial obligations are heavy. A way out was found. The office of Singers chief is made to rotate between the three men, each holding it for four years. As for the Agave society, sixteen years ago it was decided to take in men from other clans and to have the chief chosen by the members of the society to hold office for four years. The office has been filled four times.

A change of incumbent may also occur in the office of *wöwö-chim* chief—at the option of the incumbent—after he has held office for eight years. My informant, a Sun clansman, and child of Bear, had taken over the office from the Bear clansman eight years ago. Then there was disease in his family, and his daughter died, so two years ago he gave the office back to the Bear people.

Possibly this principle of rotation in office has been applied in connection with other ceremonies. A general statement was made to the effect that headship "was too hard to keep for life." They would change every four years, the numbers of the ceremony selecting the head from the members of the clan associated with the ceremony and in the ceremony.<sup>7</sup>

Of this rotation in office my First Mesa escort and interpreter had never heard. Indeed much of the ceremonial data was unknown to him—although this was not his first visit to Shöhmo'pavi. He admitted to me at a later day that he was very much surprised by the differences in custom between First Mesa and Shöhmo'pavi and that his earlier assertions that certain ceremonies had perforce to belong to certain clans were erroneous. He was on his way to becoming an ethnologist.

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<sup>6</sup> At Oraibi members of the Snake society were called warriors, and formerly representatives of the Snake, Coyote, and Burrowing Owl clans acted as police. (Voth, H. R. "The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony," pp. 343-4, in *Field Columbian Mus. Pub.* 83, *Anthrop. Ser.* III, no. 4, 1903.)

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Lowie reports that at Mishongnovi the town chieftaincy is held in rotation by the Bear, Cloud, and Parrot clans, the term of office being about four years. Bluebird, Bear, *patki* (Cloud), and Squash is the succession in Mishongnovi tradition ("The Traditions of the Hopi," pp. 40-1).

## CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Clan	Office or Ceremony	Kiva
Bear	Town chief ( <i>gigmungwi</i> )	
	Crier chief ( <i>chaakmungwi</i> )	
	<i>wöwöchim</i> .....	(?) Blue-bird
	<i>ahl</i> (Horn).....	<i>yoya'</i>
Kachina-Parrot	<i>Marau</i> .....	Parrot
	Winter solstice ceremony ( <i>Soyala</i> )...	Parrot
	<i>powamu</i> .....	Parrot
	<i>tataukya</i> (Singers).....	Parrot
Sun-Forehead-Reed	<i>kwan</i> (Agave).....	Snow Mountain
	War chief ( <i>kalehktaka</i> )	
	Snake ( <i>chü</i> )	
	Sun-watcher ( <i>tawa taima</i> )	
Snow-Water-house- Young-corn-ear	<i>waköl</i> .....	Parrot
	Flute ( <i>len</i> )	
	<i>lakunt</i> .....	Parrot